The Commonweal

July 8, 1949

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# Housing Experiment in Italy

*Peter Thompson*

# What Price Anti-Sedition?

*James O'Gara*

# In-fighting in the CIO

*Francis Downing*

VOLUME L

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NUMBER 13

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The
# COMMONWEAL

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## *Housing Program*

THE CLIMAX of the five-year struggle to bring a national low-rent housing program to the vote had its dramatic moments. There was the strenuous interchange on the subject between President Truman and the Real Estate Boards. In Congress itself two venerable Representatives exchanged a few glancing blows over the measure, while, at the height of the debate, ten Congressmen took off in a plane to visit actual slums—and low-rent housing units—in New York and Philadelphia. Even as the House was knocking off substitute bills one by one to clear the decks for the final vote, Senator Tobey was telling a Boston gathering of New England Republican leaders about the role Representative Martin had played with other Republican Congressmen in obstructing national housing legislation.

Cost to the taxpayer has been a leading argument against contracting for the three hundred million a year subsidies envisaged in the bill. To offset this is the public cost of slums: disease, broken homes, juvenile delinquency and crime. And, in addition, the fact that this six-year program of 810,000 new dwelling units would get under way at a moment when building costs are declining and the construction industry (widely held to be a key to national prosperity) could do with a real shot in the arm.

The most violent debates, however, have had to do with the charge that such subsidies constitute socialism. Opponents have contended that cities and states should look to their own housing problems and that things would be cleared up by the ending of rent controls and of local building restrictions, the revising of obsolete building codes and the like. Public housing advocates maintain that since construction costs do not permit the sorely needed low-rent units to be built at a profit, government must step in to supply the difference between the economic rent and what the tenants can afford to pay. Where this is beyond municipal and state finances, Washington itself must come forward. They contend that this is merely remedying one flaw in a predominantly capitalistic set-up and that it is no more socialistic than the many government helps to American business: the tariff, subsidies to airlines and shipping, loans to farmers and agricultural corporations, guarantees of bank deposits.

But the real clincher in the Congressional debate is the unsatisfied demand for homes in the lower income brackets. With slums still a major blot in most of our large cities—and disgraceful shacks dotting the countryside—and 3,000,000 American families still doubling up for living quarters four years after the war's end, popular pressure on Senators and Congressmen has been insistent.

Indeed an American system which falls so short of providing the basic item of decent homes for many of our citizens can hardly supply blue prints for other national economies.

## *Not the Last Word*

ST. LOUIS, a border city between North and South, has traditionally looked both ways in forming its attitude on race relations. It has worked carefully and patiently against prejudice, while at the same time practicing Negro segregation.

A few days ago, within two hours after the city ordered non-segregation at municipal swimming pools, there was a race riot. The city administration was forced to restore segregation.

A quick reflex like this to the city's original and just announcement is a sullen stroke of anger from those who are fighting a rear-guard action and are as yet unable to face reasonably and honorably a matter of justice. That St. Louis should have taken its non-segregation stand is in itself an example of what a decent city administration must inevitably and certainly do about discrimination; temporarily, St. Louis apparently will not



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have what would be an achievement for any city to imitate, and what would be a reflection of an improved national attitude on racial equality.

Happening where it did, the incident reveals the standard mixture of the best and worst ingredients in our national emotions and thoughts on civil rights. A combination of clubs and emotionalism took the day in St. Louis, but hardly the final decision, since a community worth having cannot survive on anger, insult and injustice.

## 100% *"of All Other Persons"*

THE PROPOSED "Public School Assistance Act of 1949" is a more flagrantly and deliberately bad "federal school bill" than even the wary might have expected. They went way back before the Civil War to get one of their key clauses, and have come up treating Catholics in respect to their schools, school taxes and representation, more shamefully than slaves were treated in the 18th Century.

The Barden Bill counts all children from 6 to 17 years of age in determining the amount of money to be sent to the various states. This means counting 100% of children in parochial schools, 100% whose families want them to be in Catholic schools—100% of Catholic children. Not one cent of the federal aid shall go to Catholic schools, or to Catholic children to aid them in attending the school of their choice, if that school is not the state public school. The federal tax to raise all the money is, of course, levied with no consideration of schools attended or schools desired. The money is extracted indiscriminately; it is fingered over by the federal government; it is allotted to the states indiscriminately in sums determined by total child population; it is then, at the final and effective step, given out exclusively to schools of a special kind, with a flat, ice cold and insolently deliberate discrimination against Catholics and all others who want for their sons and daughters a different school than the particular kind of state public school which the bureaucratic education industry produces in their localities.

The original, pre-Civil War handling of slaves was at least a compromise; it was less reactionary and tyrannical than this proposed law. At that time, only three-fifths "of all other persons" were enumerated for passive exploitation: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

Many people who seem to be nice enough people in many respects appear completely incapable of realizing the positive discrimination and abitrary tyranny involved in this sort of penalizing Catholics and favoring public school adherents. (And others besides Catholics are in the same way hit: Negroes, especially, the way this Bill is arranged; and in general everybody everywhere who wants for his child a different sort of education than that provided by the locally favored state public school, which is to be more and more favored at greater and greater prejudicial expense to everything else.) The cry about separation of Church and State echoes ironically shallow when not bitterly insincere. Too many of the warm tears wept over the unimproved education of the underprivileged would turn a litmus paper nauseating green. A business likes this makes us feel like the Abolitionists, and makes us worry, the way they did, about the very possibility of arguing the issue of liberty in the tranquil terms of honest reason.

## *Chinese Resistance*

CHINA as a country, in almost every way, seems to be sadly formless during these hard years. It must be that many different things can happen to China: her people can take her in different directions; outsiders can affect her in decidedly different ways. But one choice is *not* open to Chinese or to Americans—it is impossible for our country not to influence the life of China and in reflection our own life too. The United States Secretary of State, flying home over the Atlantic from Paris and his month's preoccupation with Central Europe, spent the time, reporters told us, studying China and the Far Pacific.

At this time, American Chinese policy is a policy of default. The Government pretends that our Chinese policy is in suspension, that we are "letting the dust settle," that for now there is no China policy. Such a negative attitude, however, nevertheless produces a positive effect, and we are responsible, whether we want to be or not. Congress and an increasing number of citizens are growing more and more restive. The President most surprisingly challenges his own current program of waiting and looking the other way by nominating for Assistant Secretary of State the man who has been in charge of the disastrously unsuccessful Administration policy of the past, W. Walton Butterworth, Senator Vandenberg emphasizes that the "bipartisan" side of foreign policy never covered the Pacific. Twenty-one Senators, including six Democrats, wrote Mr. Truman a letter asking assurance that the Chinese Communist regime will not be recognized. And the Chinese Nationalists have begun to impose a sea and air blockade against the Communist area of Northeast China.

The State Department's refusal to recognize the blockade, because it is not effective, protects commerce with the Communist area, so that the

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US, doing officially nothing positively, and keeping the right hand from knowing what the left hand is doing, irresponsibly aids the Communist push over the Nationalists.

Now, the current, known choices can be personalized by the names Chiang and Mao, the Kuomintang and the Communist bosses. Neither is the leader of this country's wishful day dreaming, nor is the Kuomintang or Communist Party our ideal political set-up. Almost certainly we share in this the opinions of the bulk of Chinese. But when our action in fact has to, by the circumstances, favor either Mao *or* Chiang, then we believe we simply must favor Chiang. And we need not feel too gloomy and frustrated about helping Chiang at the expense of Mao, because the Communist pattern of Mao is a far, far greater and far more spreading international danger and evil.

Our new action and, as it were, free concern should be to discover and develop more promising alternatives. Certainly, the resistance movement in China, which we are informed, already operates in the North against the encroaching Communist empire, will produce new forces and parties and leaders. This whole period of cold war is a time of Resistance. A policy of active American interest in that Resistance in China and the Orient might lead to a solid program for this country which would be neither appeasement and betrayal, nor atomizing and empire building; and it might, at length, lead to measured success.

## *Breaking Out of a Triangle*

WHEN Britain signed the five-year bilateral trade agreement with Argentina (June 27) in the face of declared US opposition, she bowed to *force majeure*. For months now the British people have been getting along on as little as 16 cents' worth of meat per week. Despite this and other austerities her dollar shortages have increased. A barter agreement with Argentina—exchanging oils, coal, iron and steel, agricultural machinery and other manufactures for meat, cereals, fats, hides and skins, etc.—provided the only way out.

The agreement embodies no political predilections. It implies no disloyalty to the United States nor any more political affinity than was indicated in an earlier British trade agreement with Soviet Russia. In each case the object was to procure things greatly needed by going to sources outside the dollar area.

The Argentine agreement involves something more than extra-Marshall-Plan activity. This bilateral treaty also means breaking out of a triangular US-British-Argentine trade relationship which has been operative for many years. And it further builds up the idea of state controls of foreign trade which disturbs many US exporters, importers and financiers who would otherwise be vastly more interested in taking up the Point 4 program for economically under-developed areas.

To accept it is not to hail the new barter agreement as a healthful or welcome development. Its direction is diametrically opposite to the freer multi-lateral trade which is the American objective. That is also the set-up which the British themselves want, in theory, and are supposed to seek with the restoration of "normal" times.

How do the nations begin to edge toward that happy day at present? There are now the three insulated trade areas: the dollar zone, the soft-currency area, and the trading sphere of Russia and her satellites. As world conditions grow more desperate these three contiguous circles will harden. Yet what is needed is to break out of these circles and to form new triangles and polygons of trade.

## *Night-Riding in Alabama*

NEAR Birmingham, Alabama, the ghost of the old South has been up and around again. This time the hooded partisans have taken the cause of public morals, of all things, into their own hands and have been beating up white persons who do not measure up to the exacting moral standards set by the night-riding forces of law and order.

The Alabama legislature, aroused by public indignation, has given evidence that Southerners themselves will deal with the matter by outlawing the wearing of hoods. To the rest of the country this is certainly welcome news.

In the next breath, Alabama has warned the federal government to keep out of what it considers the State's private business. In most cases, the suppression of crime and violence is indeed a local matter. If, for example, a citizen in Topeka, Kansas, were to throw stones through every plate glass window he saw, Topeka would not be the object of a Congressional investigation or an FBI report. Topeka, like most communities, is known to have such things in hand.

Alabama has a right to be sensitive about federal investigations there, but just the fact that the proposal for Congressional investigations has been made in this case should convince Southerners that hooded violence is not simply another local crime. There is good reason for the rest of the country to be concerned and disgraced when uninhibited actions in any one state degrade our national traditions and reputation.

Unfortunately, this kind of violence is not new, and as yet the South has not demonstrated that Klanism is a local crime which it has in hand. If now Alabama is ready to pass and enforce adequate laws, there need be no federal interference in the state. If not, federally enacted civil rights legislation is the alternative it brings on itself.

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# *Housing Experiment in Italy*

## The CASAS program restores the ruins of war-damaged Italian homes and communities.

*Peter Thompson*

A PROGRAM called UNRRA-CASAS is still spending a comparatively modest allocation from the UNRRA Lire Fund with which it has to date rehoused more than 400,000 Italians made homeless by the war. It has done much more. In 131 of the most heavily damaged communities it has constructed 2,844 new four-room apartments; collaborated in the establishment of nursery schools, clinics, maternity welfare centers, craftsmen's co-operatives, after-school training courses, lending libraries and community centers; in the re-establishment of water and electricity supply and communications.

CASAS stands for Comitato Amministrative Soccorsi Ai Senzatetto—the Senzatetto being the people without roofs, the homeless. It was created by a decree of the Italian Government on May 8, 1946, because, of the 5,837,870 rooms destroyed or damaged in the war, only 14,232 had up to that time been repaired.

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THE CASAS aim was to make not only houses but homes, and to repair also the material background against which a Christian society could flourish. The immediate assets were a few men in Rome who believed in the lofty ambitions that they declared (men who had proved themselves by years of exile or imprisonment under the Fascists); one thousand million lire from the UNRRA Lire Fund; some two hundred surplus American Army trucks; and a six months' program for the repair of 60,000 rooms and the building of 1,000 new four-room apartments.

The owners of houses destroyed or damaged in the war were entitled to State compensation up to 75 percent of the estimate of the damage if this did not exceed 500,000 lire. The CASAS plan was to buy material for the homeless against the compensation they would one day be entitled to and transport this material free, from the kiln and timber yard to the place of repair. It was a simple plan, but that it worked with the grace it did was because of the superb confidence in the improbable shared by most of those chosen to put it into effect. For the complications began the day the first voluntary worker set an exploratory foot into the underestimated wilderness where the war had been.

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SOMETHING of the routine may be realized from the following quotation from one of the reports of that time.

"We sat in the jeep for five minutes, the geometra, his assistant with the typewriter, the interpreter, the driver and I, tasting the comfort of indecision while the rain pattered on the canvas roof and formed rivulets down the dashboard. It was Ascension Day, and in the mountains around Lizzano in Belvedere it was like Lancashire in February. The umbrellas were borrowed, enormous green umbrellas with handles like tent pegs and, leaving the driver in charge of typewriter and jeep, we began a walk that led up slippery paths and through wet fields knee-high in grass to the remote ruined homes of peasants who wanted material, or whom the geometra thought wanted material.

"In the afternoon at Querciola two or three hundred people assembled in the schoolroom to ask questions about the CASAS scheme and to make requests for material. The first they had heard of CASAS was when the priest had warned them at Mass of our visit and they were a little sceptical. . . .

"Each request had to be checked against the estimate. The geometra had an appalling pile of these in which damage was estimated not in terms of material required but in terms of wall space and roof space. Thus there was a constant worried translation of so many square metres of damaged roof into so many *coppi* or *tegole* needed. Then the number and value of the estimate had to be noted down, also the number of the denucia, the exact address of the house to be repaired and, if this were different, the nearest point a three-ton GMC could set down the material, and of course the inevitable exploration of a labyrinth of nicknames and maiden names and what every other member, it seemed, of the family was called in order to get the full legal name of the owner. . . .

"By nine o'clock in the evening some forty request cards had been completed. These were



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taken to the Sindaco for his signature. A week later the materials were delivered. People in the more remote places I notified individually so that they might make arrangements for unloading. Those living near the villages were notified by the priest and on the day that the lorries came were bidden to the unloading by the church bell."

At the end of October the UNRRA Italian Mission was enough impressed by the success of the CASAS experiment to allocate it another one thousand and twenty-four million lire from the Lire Fund to help it keep up with increasing commitments.

★

AS THE program of CASAS for 1946 became more widely known and the evidence that it meant what it said was more compelling, the queues of homeless who came to the Bologna offices in the faded and comfortless splendor of the Palazzo d'Accursio grew longer. Though the number of trucks carrying material had been increased from 30 to 150, the time of waiting for the material had increased in the same proportion.

With the approach of winter, the worst winter in Italy for fifty years, each shower of rain luxuriantly multiplied requests and made the roads more and more impracticable. Trucks got stuck in the mud and in the river. Sometimes they skidded off the mountain tracks, fortunately with no worse harm than a wrecked vehicle and a heap of broken tiles, but every day, whatever the weather, the trucks and the assistants went out, until in November there came the first heavy fall of snow, and the day after the assistants went out alone. It took a day to make a journey that had previously taken an hour and a half. When the snow was cleared a little the trucks went out again.

There was a fever about that time: half nightmarish, half invigorating. One knew one couldn't possibly fulfill all the requests that were being made; but every day that there wasn't a fresh fall of snow more material could somehow or other be got to its destination, more roofs could be finished, more requests could be checked in the improbable expectation that the weather would go on behaving itself. One walked in the snow and the dark, in one hand a sheaf of requests smudged by the weather, in the other, a torch, and at the end of the journey found a family huddled on a plank before the fire where the evening meal of beans in broth was giving off an incredibly appetizing odor.

One felt privileged to be able to attempt helping these people who brought out wine and glasses and sent for a chair next door (300 yards away) and smiled and made apologies for the staircase, a ladder, up which one had to ascend to see something of the damage in the black, bare room overhead, where were beds of planks on bricks, and cardboard in the great holes in the roof. In such a house one marked the request card Urgent Priority, three times underlined and then thought, how hopeless, because all the rest of the fourteen checked that day were similarly marked and one began rehearsing the appeals to be made to the UNRRA chief in the office.

More trucks, priority to this mountain commune, more trucks, priority to that mountain commune, priority for roofing materials, more trucks, more daylight, less snow, more days in the week, more trucks.

★

BY THE Spring of 1947, 66,383 rooms had been repaired and 14,573 more were in the course of repair. 1,000 new dwellings had been built. This meant that CASAS, working within the limits of one hazardous year and a modest budget, had rehoused 122,500 people.

The new houses built by CASAS are intended as the framework for the renaissance of a balanced and secure family life. There are four apartments to a house (two up and two down): each has a separate entrance. Local materials are used and though the basic design remains constant, architectural style is varied according to locality. Every apartment has electric light, running water, bathroom, fitted cupboards and cooking-stove. The rooms are spacious and airy and there is a garden.

The first thousand of these dwellings have been tenanted for eighteen months by families taken from refugee camps, caves, cellars, stables and ruins by CASAS welfare assistants—Italian and non-Italian—who, for criteria in selecting the families, had to balance need against capability of getting the best out of improved conditions. The dwellings, set among gardens flourishing with tomato plants and dahlias, rose bushes and potatoes, have the appearance of solidly established and prospering homes. Some of the house-proud tenants have painted the plain cream walls of their kitchens with designs of animals and flowers in colors that rock the eye but "make it seem more home-like." Or they have partitioned off, with glass doors or curtains of stenciled linen, the alcoves where the stove and sink are. Pots of geraniums are hung within the balcony entrances of first-floor apartments, arbors of clematis are made between garden gate and ground floor front door.

Some of the tenants—especially those from the camps—move in with no more possessions than a chair or two, some rags (bedclothes) and a bed spring. The CASAS assistants find them at least a civilized minimum of furniture and

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whatever else is necessary to help them help themselves during the first difficult year of getting the home going: a broom, a market for basket work, a place in a famed trade school for the bright son of the family, seeds and tools for the garden, medicine and advice for the baby, fuel at cost price, pensions and legal advice.

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BUT CASAS houses are only a part of larger communities and the problems of the people in the houses are often the problems of the community as a whole. In one village, for instance, there is no light in the CASAS houses because nowhere within the valley in which they are built have the electricity installations been restored. And they have not been restored, as the welfare assistant soon discovers when he sets out on the intricate road for getting them restored, because the local electricity company (which exercises a monopoly) is not willing to bear the cost of such restoration, when the immediate return for the whole valley is less than that of a single cafe in the city—where the electricity company has its office.

So what had begun as the exasperation of Tullio Formasini at the electric light bulb (with a bed, a chair and a saucepan his only goods from the refugee camp), still unusable after six months in the CASAS house, becomes within a couple of weeks a matter involving not only the commune in which Formasini lives, but all the communes of the valley, and the electricity company and the Prefect, and the local Deputy. The latter has proposed and got adopted an amendment to an existing law which will force the electricity company to yield its monopoly and thus make possible the granting of a Government loan for the restoring of at least the high tension line to the valley.

With the 1948-and-after program, CASAS has begun a new series of projects for benefiting the whole of the community in which CASAS houses are built. Furniture makers are encouraged to design and supply the furniture needed in the CASAS houses in their part of the country. This means in some cases the combining of local carpenters into a co-operative, since no single man has all the resources for meeting CASAS demands. By one operation, therefore, destitute new tenants get the goods and the struggling craftsmen get the tools and the trade. Small agricultural co-operatives for bee-keeping, the rearing of pigs and goats, and the buying of necessary garden tools and fertilizers; the opening of nursery schools; and an experiment in putting young delinquents on probation as apprentices at CASAS garages to learn the responsibilities of free citizens instead of being corrupted in the prisons: these are other CASAS jobs just beginning.

# *What Price Anti-Sedition?*

## Illinois discovers that writing anti-sedition laws may imperil personal freedom and reputation.

*James O'Gara*

VERY FEW people remain unaware of the fact that the Communist Party constitutes a potential fifth column in the event of war. As if to highlight that fact, the puppet leaders of the various "national" Communist parties recently rose, one after another, to declare in advance that they would refuse to join any future war that would involve the Soviet motherland.

That these leaders took such a position should have surprised no one. In the battle for the minds and hearts of men, their allegiance has already been paid elsewhere; their loyalty has long since been pledged outside their national boundaries. If they are guilty of treason, to have acted otherwise would have been treason of a higher sort for them.

In an era of cold war which always holds the possibility of heating up rapidly, the question of subversive activities and their control naturally takes an ever-increasing importance, and it is not surprising that local authorities become more and more concerned with the problem. The questions with which any investigation of subversive activities is concerned are very real ones. Should membership in the Communist Party be classified in itself as a seditious act? Or would leadership rather than membership constitute subversion? What about membership in organizations such as those the Attorney-General has called Communist-fronts? Should teachers be dismissed if they are or ever have been members of such organizations?

These are certainly points which deserve sober thought and mature consideration, with very little room for snap judgments. Any legislation

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which deals with such fundamental questions poses very serious problems. And more and more states are taking under consideration proposals for dealing with subversive activities.

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IN ILLINOIS the investigation of seditious activities is in the hands of a Commission headed by a State Senator named Broyles. Some time ago, on the basis of his experience, Senator Broyles introduced into the Legislature three bills which are lumped together under the general heading of anti-sedition bills. Essentially the bills deal, implicitly or explicitly, with the same problems that are currently occupying the attention of Judge Medina in the trial of the Communist leaders in New York.

Of the three bills, two are designed to keep Communists or Communist sympathizers from holding jobs as teachers. A number of people have registered strong opposition to these two bills on the general grounds of academic freedom. Even among those who are seriously concerned about the danger of having communist teachers in the schools, there is real opposition to these two proposals. Many teachers are worried lest any opinion unpopular with a state board be considered "sympathetic to Communism" and lead to discharge.

The third bill introduced by Senator Broyles is more sweeping in its nature. If it were a federal law, it would certainly make the problems confronting Judge Medina in the New York trials a great deal simpler. This bill provides: "Any person who is a Communist or who by oath subscribes to the aims, principles, and program of Communism; or who attends meetings of Communist organizations or Communist front organizations to further the cause of Communism, or who pays dues to or carries a membership card in any such organization; or who is in any way active in behalf of Communism or of any Communist organization or Communist front organization, is guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than one nor more than five years."

In its intentions this third bill is certainly clear enough, but the legal complications involved are far-reaching. In the bill, "Communism is defined to be the doctrine which advocates crime, physical violence, destruction of property, corruption of governmental agencies, or other acts of force or violence or insidious or treacherous acts for the purpose of accomplishing the destruction of the free systems of representative government." It should be noted that all the components of the definition such as crime, corruption of governmental agencies and the like are already illegal. The only new contribution here lies in the addition of "insidious or treacherous acts" and trying to get a conviction under penal law with that vague a charge would appear to be quite a problem.

In the Broyles bill a Communist is defined as "any person who within the State of Illinois espouses, directly or indirectly, or openly or secretly, furthers the cause of communism." If a Communist is one who furthers the cause of communism directly or indirectly, it would seem that a lot of people would qualify for immediate prosecution. It has frequently been said, for example, that the policies of the NAM by their extreme reaction give aid and comfort to communism. On that point many might be inclined to agree, but most would nevertheless be dubious about clapping NAM officials into the penitentiary for indirectly furthering communism.

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FROM THE legal point of view, therefore, the Broyles bills seem to be poorly worded, and there is an obvious lack of precise definition of actual wrongful acts, as required in penal statutes. The board of governors of the Chicago Bar Association regards the bills as unworkable, vaguely worded, and probably unconstitutional in any case. People who should know are dubious that any of the three bills could get past the courts if they were enacted into law.

In view of these circumstances, it was to be expected that the hearings on the Broyles bills would produce some strong opposition, and they did. Part of that opposition took the form of student delegations from two Chicago schools, the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College. By all reports, some of the students behaved rudely, and the Legislature felt its dignity had been affronted.

In the heat of the moment and without much consideration, the Legislature voted $2,500 to the Seditious Activities Commission, which is headed by the same Senator Broyles, to be used for a full-dress investigation in both schools. In the discussion of the measure two legislators hit upon a new way of finding Communists. One legislator looked the student delegation over with a searching eye and decided they "looked like Communists;" another remarked that some of them looked like a "dirty, greasy bunch of kids with their hair not combed." The investigation was deemed necessary because "students are being indoctrinated with Communistic and other subversive theories contrary to our free system of representative government."

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ABOUT A YEAR before the present inquiry began, both the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College had been investigated by this

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same Commission. Nothing came of this inquiry. This trip the investigation seemed to center chiefly around the University of Chicago, probably because this school has long served as a popular whipping-boy in the area.

As far back as 1935, sensational charges had been made against the U. of C. by a member of the Walgreen drugstore-chain family, and the State Legislature at that time authorized a similar investigation. Spectacular charges were hurled, and the newspapers pounced on the story. Eventually, after the papers had had a field day, the investigating committee cleared the University, so convincingly that Mr. Walgreen shortly afterwards made the University a gift of $550,000. The harm done to the institution's reputation, however, was not so easily undone, and it is dubious that even Mr. Walgreen's half million could make up for the bad publicity the school had received.

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THE attitude of the University on the whole matter this time was clear. Officials there thought they were being singled out for investigation for political purposes, and they made no bones about not liking it. Summoned to testify before the Commission, Chancellor Robert Maynard Hutchins said:

"The subpoena I have received summons me to testify concerning subversive activities at the University of Chicago. This is a leading question: the answer is assumed in the question. I cannot testify concerning subversive activities at the University of Chicago, because there are none. . . . The faculty numbers 1000. None of its members is engaged in subversive activities. . . . Nobody has ever ventured to say that any member of the faculty of the University of Chicago is a Communist. It has sometimes been said that some members of the faculty belong to some so-called 'Communist front' organizations. The University of Chicago does not believe in the un-American doctrine of guilt by association. . . ."

Throughout his testimony, Chancellor Hutchins demonstrated his belief that present laws to punish subversive acts are quite adequate and that academic freedom was a better solution to the problems we face than measures like the Broyles bills.

In justice to his views, it should be pointed out that there are on the campus of the University of Chicago about 130 student clubs of various kinds. One of these is a Communist Club, the existence of which is public knowledge, as it was long before the Seditious Activities Commission began its work. The membership in this Communist Club currently numbers ten or twelve students. If the school is indoctrinating its students in subversive Communist doctrines, it is being remarkably inefficient about it.

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THE POSSIBILITY of labeling the innocent as Communists because of lack of adequate safeguards is one of the problems of such investigations. In the course of his testimony, Chancellor Hutchins remarked, "It is now fashionable to call anybody with whom you disagree a Communist or fellow-traveller." That the danger of such a policy is not imaginary was demonstrated by the Commission very shortly.

To assist the Commission in its investigations, Senator Broyles had brought in from the East a former adviser to the Dies Committee, a man named J. B. Matthews, who described himself as having once held a "strategic non-membership in the Communist Party." Throughout the inquiry Matthews served the Commission as a Special Investigator.

As the investigation proceeded, a Catholic priest was one of those who offered support to the University of Chicago. Father Joseph D. Connerton of the Archdiocese of Chicago has been the chaplain for Catholic students on the campus of the U. of C. since 1941, and he was previously an assistant pastor in the parish in which the University is located. In defense of the institution, he wrote a letter which is worth quoting.

Said Father Connerton: "The accusation or impression that the University of Chicago is a Communistic institution or teaches Communistic doctrines is an extremely false one. Like any other university worthy of the name, it teaches what Communistic doctrine is. But it does not attempt to inculcate or promote or encourage Communism. . . . As a Catholic priest, I believe it is unnecessary to state that I have no sympathy with Communist doctrine. Neither am I in sympathy with the secularism characteristic of much of our higher education today. But I do believe that an undeserved stigma has been cast upon the University of Chicago by the action of the State Legislature in ordering an investigation of the University for Communistic activities."

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THE REACTION to Father Connerton's letter provides a good example of how dangerous vaguely worded laws making Communism a penal offense might be. Father Connerton may have thought it unnecessary to state that as a Catholic priest he had no sympathy with Communist doctrine. But even stating it didn't do him much good. As soon as counsel for the University moved to introduce into the record this letter from Father Connerton, plus similar letters from four non-Catholic clergymen, Special

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Investigator Matthews fired his big gun.

"In that event," Matthews said, "I will request permission of the chairman to introduce the Communist records of the clergymen." Involved were two rabbis, one Baptist minister, one nationally-known Episcopalian minister, Bernard Iddings Bell, and Father Connerton. Naturally, Matthews' accusation was good for long stories in the papers.

In view of the serious nature of his charges, reporters later questioned Matthews carefully. They asked what he meant when he referred to the Communist records of the clergymen. "Exactly that," Matthews replied. "Their Communist records."

Matthews was asked if he meant to say those clergymen were members of the Communist Party. "Not necessarily," he answered. "They may be members of Communist organizations."

Then the reporters asked him, "Is a so-called Communist-front a Communist organization, as you use the term?" "Yes," Matthews answered to that one.

The reporters went on to ask if the five clergymen without exception were members of what he considered "Communist organizations." "No," Matthews replied, "they are not."

Naturally, the reporters then asked him for the names of the exceptions, but Matthews refused to answer this question, saying the facts would be made known when he filed the records with the Commission. In view of the fact that at the time no one knew when these "records" would be filed and that the newspapers were carrying his blanket accusations, this answer hardly seemed adequate. No subsequent retraction or correction could fully atone for the damage done by the first newspaper stories.

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THE COMMISSION has now completed its weeks-long investigation. So little has been turned up that it is making no recommendations whatsoever to the Legislature. Instead it is merely filing a complete record of the testimony taken, one that amounts to about 350,000 words. "The record," said Chairman Broyles, "speaks for itself." More frankly, Representative Jenkins declared the action in effect "gives the two schools a clean bill of health." Again, a frank declaration of that fact by the Commission would have left a better taste in people's mouths.

In the course of its career, the Seditious Activities Commission has been granted $15,000 to pursue its investigations, in addition to the $2,500 voted for the special job just completed on the two Chicago schools. On the strength of its past performance, the Commission was asking the Illinois Legislature for an additional $75,000 to continue its operations.

Even before its final report was filed, disgust with the Commission's methods was so widespread that the Legislature refused it the $75,000 requested to carry on. Thus if there did exist a real need for a local body to keep its eye on subversive activity, the Commission itself by its irresponsibility has made continuance of such a body an impossibility.

If the fate of the Illinois Seditious Activities Commission is settled, at this writing the same is not yet true of the Broyles anti-sedition bills which prompted the Commission's most recent investigation. Opposition to the bills has always been strong, and it has gained additional strength because of the conduct of the Commission headed by the Senator who introduced the legislation.

Chances are that these anti-sedition bills will not pass the Legislature. If they should happen to get through, Governor Adlai Stevenson will almost certainly veto them. In that event, they are unlikely to be passed again over his veto.

It is worth noting that some twelve or thirteen other states are reported to be considering bills similar to the anti-sedition bills proposed in Illinois. No matter how anxious everyone is to check subversive activity, such bills should certainly get a very careful reading before they become law. If further laws are necessary to check genuinely subversive activity, they should be enacted. Such legislation, however, should be framed very cautiously. There is no point in burning the house down just to save on insurance premiums.

# The Labor Movement

## In-fighting in the CIO

HAD they had their way George Addes and R. J. Thomas would never have let Walter Reuther become head of the UAW CIO. Two of the things they resorted to to prevent his election in 1946 were (1) to charge that were he elected, John L. Lewis would bring the UAW into the AFL; and (2) to try to bring the FE (Farm Equipment Workers) into the UAW, and thus, numerically, dominate the UAW Convention and defeat Mr. Reuther.

Actually, had Walter Reuther been defeated, Addes, Thomas, John L. Lewis and the Communists might—merged together—have destroyed the CIO.

Obviously, therefore, Mr. Reuther's election as president of the Autoworkers' Union meant many things. But not the least of these meanings was this: a delicate balance of power in the CIO had been tipped in favor of Mr. Murray and against the Communists. The strong part the CIO has played in our foreign policy is one of the clearest evidences of the change. It is impossible, for instance, to evaluate the difference that CIO support has meant to the Marshall Plan. How can one calculate

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the difference in our domestic politics if the labor movement or a large part of it, had supported Henry Wallace?

When I reported on the foreign policy issue at the CIO Convention of 1947, and the support given, in resolution, to the Marshall Plan (COMMONWEAL, November 7, 1947), I reported that the resolution was unanimously adopted. And I quoted some words of Mr. Murray about the meaning of the resolution and Mr. Murray's understanding of the CIO commitment. The preamble of that resolution said: "The CIO is an American institution with a single national allegiance and that allegiance is to our own country, the United States of America, its form of government and basic democratic institutions under the Constitution of the United States."

I said then that it was not unknown to Mr. Murray that some who voted for the foreign policy resolution rejected it in their hearts. And I cite here again his words about that:

"Now the resolution is quite plain. It is understandable. The preamble of the resolution declares where the CIO stands insofar as our country and its form of government, its constitution, and its democratic institutions are concerned. Every delegate representing unions in this convention, when he votes for this resolution, pledges himself and his organization to support these ideals. And he cannot betray them, either through the use of subtlety or evasion or in hidden places or in open forums, and be loyal to the CIO. *He is required, as a matter of policy—and this is a declaration of policy—to subscribe wholeheartedly for himself and his membership to these ideals.* He cannot subvert them. He is not privileged to do that. He must support them." (Italics mine.)

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SINCE THEN, Communists in the CIO and their agate-eyed followers have traduced that resolution for which they publicly voted. Since then they have opposed the Marshall Plan. Since then they have joined Henry Wallace and the alleged Progressive Party. Mr. Harry Bridges has attacked Mr. Murray and the CIO. He has been obedient to the CIO policies which pleased him and has rejected the rest. Albert Fitzgerald of UE was chairman of the so-called Progressive Convention.

Since then Donald Henderson of the Tobacco Workers Union participated in the Communist-sponsored cultural meeting in Paris. Some Communist leaders in the CIO have referred to Mr. Murray as a "Ku Kluxer." The Communists and their fellows have opposed the North Atlantic Pact. They have opposed withdrawing from the Soviet-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The Fur Workers support the Communists now on trial in New York, and Irving Potash of the Furriers is one of the defendants.

A division of jurisdiction in the agricultural implement industry goes back a number of years. It is too complex to detail here, but the division between the Autoworkers and the FE has clearly been hurtful to workers and has not advanced their power to bargain. The FE had disobeyed a CIO order to effect a merger with the UAW. FE membership has fallen in the last two years from 73,000 to 31,000.

Moreover, from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union five former local unions have left to accept the jurisdiction of the Steelworkers in Bessemer, Alabama. The action of these local unions is typical of many throughout the CIO which are rebelling against Communist domination and policy and the consequent neglect of local union problems and needs. Among other reactions to all this, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union has vilified Mr. Murray and the Steelworkers in a literally unspeakable fashion.

All legitimate organizations in history and in time have had to face the problem of internal disobedience and schism. Philosophical anarchy has been a tempting idea to many men. But any institution, a church, a labor union, a political party is, and must be, organized around the idea of discipline and obedience. Any government must be strong enough to support the liberty of its willing subjects; but it must be strong enough, also, to compel immediate obedience to its legitimate orders, or it cannot survive. Lincoln put it more simply when he said that house which is divided against itself cannot stand. This is why the American labor movement has always been afraid of what Samuel Gompers characterized as "dual unionism." For dual unions can mean no unions.

What we have here is an extraordinary case of disloyalty. For these people in the Fur Union, the Mine, Mill, the FE, FTA, ILWU and the rest are not loyal to the United States, and have given themselves in allegiance to another country and are leading, at the very least, double lives. It is to the Communist Party line that they have given their blind obedience. They have, indeed, subverted the ideals of which Mr. Murray spoke in 1947.

But neither the Communist nor the fellow-traveler, whom Mr. James Wechsler has called the "classic political phenomenon of our time," has an unlawful existence either in our nation or in most of our labor unions. He has a legal right to exist, to speak, to work and to act.

But if this is true he cannot, as an officer of a labor union, make his own rules of conduct. He can, of course, dissent from the adoption of a given rule. He may even voice this dissent after the rule is made. But during its existence, he must be obedient to it. Or he can, of course, resign his office. But he cannot be a dog in the manger.

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HERE WE COME to the crux of the Communist problem. For a long time now, there has been a good deal of talk about the Communist dominated unions leaving the CIO and existing in some autonomous federation of their own. My underground tells me that rumbling and grumbling about this has been going on in the Party, that the merely Party members favor the new federation, and that the labor leaders in the Party have refused on the ground that such a move would be as senseless as sleeping in a coffin.

In consequence of this alleged decision the Communists have one foot in the CIO and one foot in the Party. They

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are still under orders to the Party. Hence, the kind of conduct and activity I outlined at the beginning of this piece.

Therefore, the CIO Executive Board in its May meeting decided to meet the issue. The Board passed four main resolutions which, in effect, will make the Communist led unions obey or get out. It is now, for the first time since the CIO was put together, as simple and terse as that.

The first Executive Board resolution was introduced by Walter Reuther. By it, jurisdiction of the implement industry is reaffirmed to the UAW, and it is recommended that FE lose its charter at the CIO Convention next October.

Another formally authorizes the transfer of the Mine, Mill local unions into the Steelworkers.

A third ensures most vigorously the conduct of the Mine, Mill International Union.

The fourth enforces obedience to CIO policy "arrived at after democratic debate and full discussion." And it calls on all CIO International Unions represented by people unwilling to obey CIO policy to insist such people resign and elect compliant representatives.

The Communist-dominated unions call this "dictatorship" and "an abuse of the apparatus of the CIO," and speak of "Mr. Reuther's ambition to take over another CIO union." They use phrases like "factionalism and disruption."

They are the old phrases out of the copy book. But they no longer have any touch of reality or meaning.

It begins to look as if there will be secession. Order and discipline in CIO's house have been due for a long time. Now that they have come, perhaps they can be a condition of a merging of the CIO and the AFL. A united labor movement is now made possible.

FRANCIS DOWNING

# Communications

## *TVA and Questionnaires*

Detroit, Michigan.

TO the Editors: In your issue of June 3 appears an article by James Rorty entitled "Did They Know It Was Loaded?" The article makes a good point. It levels much needed critcisms at biased opinion studies. I am in wholehearted agreement with Mr. Rorty's thesis—as he knew when we discussed these matters in the 30s.

My agreement with Mr. Rorty, however, cannot induce me to let pass uncorrected his false and unjustified reference to me, by name, as a convenient personification of the psychological blindness, or worse, that he is attacking.

Mr. Rorty could easily have ascertained the true facts instead of resorting to the following misstatements:

1. He asserts that I was a stockholder of The Psychological Corporation in 1933. The fact is that neither then nor at any other time have I ever owned a share of Psychological Corporation stock.
2. He states that I am "now listed on the board of directors." The fact is that I have not been so listed since 1943. Moreover, during the years I served on the board I used my position there to continue criticizing with even greater vigor the practices I had previously criticized from outside the board.
3. More important is Mr. Rorty's innuendo that my earlier "indignations seemed to have mellowed." A little inquiry would have shown Mr. Rorty that on the contrary I have carried on a continuous attack against bias in opinion polling, in the Psychological Corporation and elsewhere.

I am tempted to paraphrase the title of the article and ask: Did James Rorty know his statements about me were loaded? Whether he knew or not, his statements can scarcely satisfy the requirements of responsible journalism.

ARTHUR KORNHAUSER,
*Board of Education,*
*Wayne University.*

Norris, Tenn.

TO the Editors: The reply of Mr. George K. Bennett, President of the Psychological Corporation, to my article in your June 3 issue seems to me to be approximately on the same level as the loaded questionnaire to which I objected.

My statement that Arthur W. Kornhauser "is now listed on the Board of Directors of the Corporation," although in 1933 he objected to some of the Corporation's activities on ethical grounds, was based on reliable information dated Nov. 18, 1948. Presumably Dr. Kornhauser has resigned since that date [see letter above]. Since I have a high regard for the profession of psychology and a proportionate concern for its ethical standing, I may perhaps be permitted to hope that his example will be widely emulated.

As to the omitted question, it reads: "Did you know that the TVA charges less for electricity than private utilities do?" Since the same information is conveyed in the succeeding question it must have been obvious to Mr. Bennett that I omitted it merely to save space. Omission of this question clearly does not affect one way or another my charge that the Psychological Corporation was guilty of spreading false information by asking loaded questions.

Mr. Bennett does not deny this charge. He says merely that this false information was needled into the minds of only a small sample—2,500 people—"to determine what changes of attitude would occur during the course of a series of questions."

Any Bowery barkeeper could have told Mr. Bennett that if you slip a customer a Mickey Finn, you can safely predict the result. . . .

JAMES RORTY

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# Catholic International News

## Religion in Canada's Elections

RELIGION promised to play a major role in the Canadian national electrions, which were to be held June 27. The religious issue has become of national political concern largely as a result of the campaign for the provincial election in British Columbia of June 21. In that province one of Canada's three major parties, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), took a definite stand against religious education. This led the Catholics of that province to organize as never before to get out the vote.

(*Newsweek* reported the British Columbia election as follows: "The issue was a straight one between socialism and free enterprise. . . . The CCF lost five of its eleven seats in the provincial parliament to the coalition. The new line-up: coalition, 40 seats; CCF, 6; independents, 2. The CCF received 35 per cent of the popular vote, as compared to 38 per cent at the last election. . . This was the second CCF disaster in two weeks. In Nova Scotia, on June 9, its percentage of the vote had dropped from 14 to 9.)

The CCF, since its inception in 1932, has frequently been accused of advocating a program incompatible with Christian principles. Although its program is frankly socialistic, the CCF heretofore has argued with some success that its philosophy is neither materialistic nor atheistic. It has also withstood successfully Communist efforts to gain responsible positions or to infiltrate its ranks. Even now the national organization of the CCF does not identify its policy with that of its British Columbian branch, on the ground that the party is so organized as to give a large amount of autonomy of its original branches.

The CCF in British Columbia left no doubt of its attitude towards religious education. In its regional paper, the party declared: "If the critical scientific attitude which our schools seek to develop comes into conflict with the revealed religious beliefs, the answer lies, as it always lis, in the revision of those beliefs, rather than in the dislocation of the school systems as a means of protecting children from that conflict."

This is not the first time that the CCF of British Columbia has embarrassed its national party headquarters. Recently it adopted a resolution condemning the Atlantic Pact, which had the approval of the national leaders. (New York, 6/25—CIP.)

## Polish CP Press Monopoly

NEWSPAPERS published by the "Prasa" Workers' Publishing Cooperative, owned by the United Workers' Party (Communist), now have a total circulation of 17 million copies, the General Manager of "Prasa" told the Government-owned Polish Press Agency. The total number of newspapers and periodicals in Poland is 877, with a combined circulation of 21 million copies.
number 29, with a circulation of over 5 million. In addition, there are a number of Communist weeklies, among them the peasant paper, *Bromada,* with a circulation of more than 1,000,000. The theoretical organ of the party, *Nowe Drogi,* increased its circulation in 1948 from 29,000 to 100,000, the Polish edition of the Cominform paper, *For A Lasting Peace—For A People's Democracy,* from 30,000 to 93,000.

In 1945 the Communists and the Social Democratic Party, which later merged in the United Workers' Party, had a total of 24 papers with a combined circulation of only 349,000. In 1948, after the merger, there were 20 pappers, with a circulation of 3,218,000. London, 6/24—CIP.)

## Polish Attacks on Church Procession

POLISH Communist students who jeered and threw stones at priests and lay Catholics as they marched in a solemn Corpus Chriti procession here Thursday, June 16, were beaten off by an indignant crowd of Catholics. Later, these Catholics demonstrated before headquarters of the Communist students' organization. The Communists then were given police protection, while no such protection was given during the attack on the procession.

The students had also attempted to drown out religious hymns during the procession with cat-calls before being repulsed.

The attack on the traditional procession was the first of its kind in Poland. At the beginning of the "people's democratic" regime, several members of the Warsaw Cabinet used to take part in the Corpus Christi procession. They were members of non-Communist or "independent" political groups cooperating with the Communists. On such occasions, police were usually dispatched to line the streets of the processional route.

Since 1947, however, the Government's efforts to show a "friendly" attitude toward the Church have turned into open conflict with Church authorities. Some Catholics here have expressed the fear that the Government will use the disorder provoked by the Communist students as a pretext for new regulations forbidding open air processions. (Warsaw, 6/22—CIP.)

## Rota Marriage Record, 1948

THE Sacred Roman Rota, the Highest Ecclesiastical Court in the Catholic Church judging matters concerning the validity or nullity of marriage, has just issued its report for the year 1948. According to this report, the cases tried numbered 124 from all over the world. In 48 cases the Court decided that the nullity of the marriages concerned had been established by the evidence submitted. In 76 cases, however, the marriages were declared valid.

In 44 of the 124 cases, i.e., more than one-third of the total, the trials were conducted gratis, the claimants being unable to pay the lawyers' fees which are usually at the charge of the party applying for a declaration of nullity. (Rome, 6/23—CIP.)

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# The Screen

## Woe Is Them

OUR LEADING characters this week find that life is tough going, but most of them show that they have what it takes. The rôles give some of our foremost stars an opportunity to fight their way through thick and thin right to the rose-colored finale.

William Powell, for example, has plenty of reason to wish he'd never met the lush dame played by Shelley Winters in *"Take One False Step."* As a college professor come to Los Angeles to raise an endowment for a new university, Powell is more than a little embarrassed when this former flame meets up with him in a bar and wants to make an evening of it. Shelley, unhappily married, has taken to drink; and William, happily married, prefers to remain sober and apply himself to his mission. Being seen with this well-pickled, handsome blonde won't help the cause any. He finally gets her home, but he has a real shock next day when the newspaper headlines scream about her mysterious disappearance—leaving *his* scarf behind as a clue.

The rest of the film is concerned with William's finding out what happened to Shelley and with clearing himself, all of which he has to do secretly because of his position. The plot, stemming from a story by Irwin and David Shaw, is curiously uneven: at times during the excellent scenes with Shelley Winters the effect is painfully realistic, but some of the chase afterward seems overdone and the trying situation in which Powell thinks he's been bitten by a dog with rabies goes on endlessly. Marsha Hunt, James Gleason and several others add to the excitement. Occasionally you're not sure whether the picture means to be funny or serious, but in any case you won't be bored as Powell takes blow after blow like a big boy.

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Marilyn Miller's life was not quite as sunny as the characters she created on the stage, and I'm sure that a movie about her, giving the real facts and attempting to explain what was behind her illness and her escape in work, could be made. *"Look for the Silver Lining"* is not to be taken too seriously. The real Marilyn Miller story has been adjusted to the superficial requirements of a musical film, and we have lots of episodes with her theatrical family, and with Jack Donahue for whom she had a great yen, and with husband Frank Carter whose tragic death brought further unhappiness, and with various other people who surrounded her on and off stage during her brilliant career. The musical numbers, with many good old songs of the past, are handled very well and constitute the film's principal charm. June Haver, who hasn't Marilyn's radiance, manages to exude some of the sparkle of this much-loved dancer; and Ray Bolger is first-rate as Donahue. Ray's dancing alone would make this picture worth seeing. Gordon MacRae, as the husband who persuaded the high-hat actress to appear in "Sally," and Charlie Ruggles and Rosemary DeCamp head the large supporting cast. Every now and then, Director David Butler succeeds in suggesting that life was no bed of roses for this popular star; but instead of psychological causes and meaning, he then gives us a bigger and better song-and-dance number in Technicolor. For summer fare, maybe that's all we can take.

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If you really want to see someone put through his paces, however, give a gander at Clark Gable in *"Any Number Can Play."* Seldom have the cards been stacked so viciously against one person; and I don't just mean the cards used in Gable's big gambling casino where, as far as I could make out, Gable and his employees are scrupulously honest and have hearts twice as big as the gold that passes over the tables. Everything happens to poor Clark. The doctor tells him he has a bad heart due to too much tension. His wife, Alexis Smith, keeps a memory room with trophies of the good old days when they were poor and happy. His son, Darryl Hickman, dislikes Clark for his seeming neglect and for the filthy lucre he makes at his business. His sister-in-law, Audrey Totter, is falling in love with him. Her husband, Wendell Corey, cheats at Clark's dice table. And then to top it all off, customer Frank Morgan practically breaks the house with a winning streak just before a couple of hoodlums hold up the place. At times Director Mervyn LeRoy works up our interest in Clark's troubles and in the machinations of a big-time gambling house. Gable's heart, however, survives better than will your patience at this piling on of fardels.

★

Perhaps not one of the people in *"House of Strangers"* will interest you, but I'll bet if you see this picture, you won't be able to walk out on it. Joseph L. Mankiewicz has directed Philip Yordin's script (based on a Jerome Weidman novel) in such a way that its unpleasant characters fascinate you into wanting to find out what happens next. Dominating this Italian-American household is the father, Edward G. Robinson, a bully who treats his sons in the same high-handed manner that he uses at his bank where he asks for no collateral but charges exorbitant interest. One of the four sons, Richard Conte, has broken away from papa and becomes a lawyer. When the State investigates papa's willful banking methods, the other three boys drop papa like the hot penny he is. The lawyer son comes to his defense and then outsmarts himself by trying to bribe a juror. So it is he who lands in jail. By the time he gets out, papa has died and the atmosphere is ripe for the vendetta in which it looks as if the sons will polish each other off. Running along with all this hate and spite in the home scenes is a hopped-up love story which Richard enacts with Susan Hayward who portrays Weidman's idea of a modern babe with more money than morals. The situations in *"House of Strangers"* come closer to reality than the dialogue used by its characters who find life so full of woe. But as I said, you'll find them hard to walk out on.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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# Of Note

## Brazilian Society of Christian Art

THE RIGHT REV. JOAQUIM NABUCO of Rio de Janeiro writes in the current issue of *Liturgical Arts* (7 East 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y.):

> . . . What is the real purpose of the *Sociedade Brasileira de Arte Christian?* Its purpose is *to put art at the service of the Church,* and thus to avoid inverting the order of things, by putting the *Church* at the service of art, art dealers, and their agents. . . .
>
> Among our artists there are many who are able and eager to ornament our churches, but their names are unknown in the ecclesiastic *milieu*. As a consequence of this, the clergy have to avail themselves of the opportunities offered them, that is, shop windows and advertisements. The result is that merchants, who know little or nothing about art and liturgy, take upon themelves the making of sacred vestments for the ministers of the altar and the fashioning of chalices and monstrances. As a rule, they are of a cheap kind, though gaudy in appearance, the better to deceive the eyes of the unaware customer.
>
> As the last century ended and the new one started, only gothic art was appreciated. It was considered *the* Christian style, and a gothic revival was looked upon as a necessity. And those who held this view were learned people, familiar with the subject, such as the great English architect Pugin.
>
> But nowadays we cannot build in the gothic style, and this chiefly for two reasons: first, because our overcrowded cities call for roomy churches and, of all styles, the gothic is perhaps the one with least room for the faithful. Second, because we are in the age of concrete and all the principles which governed the art of building in the time of the Goths, as in that of the Romans, have been revolutionized. We need no buttresses that buttress nothing. Architecture, like all applied arts which depend on it, is a live thing, and as such subject to change. . . .
>
> Nothing is more difficult to teach than good taste and sobriety. How many churches, architecturally beautiful, are completely spoiled by accessories that find their way into them in the name of devotion or ornamentation!
>
> Our society hopes, among other things, to foster, in every way possible, good taste in the decoration of our churches, and this chiefly by simplicity, sister of beauty and truth. . . .

## Apostolate of the Sea

DURING the Holy Year 1950 the Apostleship of the Sea is to hold its World Congress in Rome. The scope of its work is indicated by the estimate that two-thirds of the world's sailors are Catholics. According to the English *Catholic Worker* (70 Higher Temple Street, Manchester 13, England):

The Apostleship's Service Centers now provide for the spiritual and recreational needs of sailors in 317 ports in 40 countries. Its organizational campaign includes doubling the 150 Service Centers in missionary areas like Borneo and Tanganyka, to fullfil the wishes expressed by Pope Pius XI in 1939 that there should be "no port in the whole world where the Apostleship is not firmly established."

When merchant vessels and ocean liners pull into harbors serviced by the Apostleship of the Sea, a priest climbs aboard to see if any of the men want to hear Mass, go to Confession, or would like to learn what Catholic laymen of the port are ready to provide for them in the line of rooms, meals, entertainment, and sight-seeing.

It is a principle of the Apostleship of the Sea (in Latin "Apostolatus Maris") which has its International Headquarters at Glasgow, Scotland, that wherever there is a Catholic church in a port, there can be an Apostolatus Maris Service Center. The International Council will furnish free of charge the official emblem of the Apostleship, a circular shield mounted on an anchor, to serve as a guide for visiting sailors to churches and Service Centers. In addition the Council provides membership cards for seamen, who pay no fee to join the Apostleship, and supplies Service Centers with Catholic magazines and periodicals.

★

In such ports as Copenhagen, whose 7,000 Catholic residents are unable to establish a permanent Service Center, the International Council invites the pastor of the church most conveniently situated to become an Honorary Port Chaplain, and to bring Catholic seamen in touch with the Sacraments and with wholesome recreation as far as possible. In Copenhagen, a local pastor, Father John Jorna, and a Danish Catholic layman, Mr. Leerbeck, have helped one hundred Catholic sailors in the course of a few months, by visiting incoming vessels in their leisure time. Because of their willingness to carry on Apostleship work in their spare time, Catholic seamen have been able to enjoy the hospitality of several Catholic homes in Copenhagen, and visits to the opera, as well as fullfil their religious duties.

An indication of the care given to the welfare of sailors who have little opportunity to contact their families or parishes is the establishment of a Seminary in Lisieux, France, to train priests as Port Chaplains. After leaving the Seminary, the priests continue their special training for two years. They go to sea as deckhands, firemen, or act in other similar capacities, to get to know seamen intimately, and obtain a first-hand acquaintance with their material and psychological problems. In addition, France has also secured for all her seamen the privilege of receiving Holy Communion at any hour, provided they fast four hours from solid foods, and two hours from liquids before receiving the Sacrament. . . .

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# A Thousand Faces—But Who Cares?

H. A. REINHOLD

IN THE UPPER high-brow *Partisan Review,* May, 1949, Sydney Hook, in his own brilliant and serious way, reflects on the Jewish question. Most of what he says is worthy of further reflection, but on p. 472 he comes to a conclusion often heard by well-meaning Jews, which is that anti-Semitism is congenital with all Christians, because of the role the Jews played in the judicial murder of Christ. "No, not *the* explanation but one which goes a long way to explain the *persistence* of anti-Semitism in a world that recognizes the difference between Jew and non-Jew, and in which the Christian dogma [whatever that means in Hook's terminology]—Sartre rightly calls it a legend [and that seems to me, the reviewer, to mean a myth with an historical kernel]—that the Jews killed Christ is still taught. . . ."

Later on he develops this into a "psychiatric" coefficient. Jews closer, in fact very close to the Day of Jesus, have called Him a renegade, swindler, a pretender; have doubted His miracles and His resurrection, or rather denied it; but it took eighteen centuries, a Hamburg Rabbi and a Tuebingen, professor—I think they were Reimarus and D. F. Strauss—to deny that Jesus perished at the hands of the occupation forces in Jerusalem egged on by Jewish zealots. If Professor Hook has no better witness than Sartre it would be safer for historians not to call the execution of Christ a "dogma," but to accept it as a fact, as much as the rebellion of Bar Kochba, and reserve the term *legend* for the apocrypha.

This review has really nothing to do with the staunch and courageous defender of freedom under socialism. Mr. Hook seems to be showing (as a curtain raiser and an overture) to what pass we have come in these days of Freud, Adler and Jung! It is the interpretation of carefully assembled myths, legends and facts—legends preferred—which matters to their disciples, not the fact in itself. The height of this subjectivity has been reached (if one may use the term *subject* for a collective).

★

ON PAGE 230 in the new Bollingen Series book, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Pantheon, $4.00), its author, Professor Joseph Campbell of Sarah Lawrence College and a disciple of the late Heinrich Zimmer, discusses Our Lord's transfiguration (Matthew, 17, 1-9); he sees the mystical hero—he means Jesus—in one of those myths which crystallize the human experience of mastering the "two worlds," which he finds in the life of Buddha, Mohammed, legendary Celts, Greeks, Teutons and Pacific primitives. "Here is the whole myth in a moment: Jesus the guide, the way, the vision and the companion of the return. The disciples are his initiates, not themselves masters of the mystery."

He sees in this "legend" a much profounder penetra-


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tion of psychic depths than, e.g., in any life of Buddha. He, too, raises the claim that this may be just a myth: "We may doubt whether such a scene actually took place. But that would not help us any; for we are concerned at present [which, thank God, leaves the door ajar!] with problems of symbolism, not of historicity. We do not particularly care whether Rip Van Winkle, Kamar al-Zaman or Jesus Christ [sic!] ever actually lived. Their *stories* are what concern us: and these stories are so widely distributed over the world—attached to various heroes in various lands—that the question of whether this or that local carrier [sic!] of the universal theme may or may not have been historical, living man can be of only secondary moment."

And then he rings all his bells, blows his loudest trumpet and writes the sentence which I, after plodding patiently, fighting off exasperation through hundreds of pages, consider to be the rock of his church: "The stressing of (the) historical element will lead to confusion; it will simply obfuscate the picture message." In other words: old-fashioned theological squabbles, "Byesbojnik" or Fatima messages, Karl Barth, Soeren Kierkegaard, John Henry Newman or Romano Guardini are nothing but the thousand faces of the hero: subconscious man striving to shake off the thousand surging dreams that have attached themselves to apparently insignificant waking experiences—as I may dream of F.D.R. the night after my eyes momentarily strike Eleanor's column in the newspaper. There may have been a Jesus, or a Buddha, we are almost sure there were two men, good men, holy men, significant men but who cares? What matters is what the collective ego dreamt about them, and psycho-religiously, that is what matters.

With this in mind, why deny miracles, unless you have scientific evidence against them? I wish I were more familiar with the exact terminology of depth-psychology and of Freud-Adler-Jung—I hope, incidentally, that future seminarians will get good and competent courses, for very positive reasons, but above all to arm and guard them against a new chemical, corroding to religion, which has appeared among us as the Bollingen Series. What Bollingen means was explained last summer (my own and Victor White's versions ought to correct one another). The fatigue created by everlasting conflict has conditioned the white man's mind to grasp the hand of Carl Jung and his school in an effort to sublimize (to adapt a term, in a pinch) humanity's religious "atavisms."

★

MEN HAVE "religion." Even Marxists are unable to cope with this stubborn fact, and the Church, in her dogmatic, evangelical, liturgical and mystical purity, has to tolerate and even to bless upsurges of near-superstitious practices, which stand the close scrutiny of a scholarly dogmatist about as well as an ice cube the sun. Religious reformers never seem to get anywhere. Nor do enlighteners, militant atheists or scholars ever produce a society, a class or even an individual that is really a simon-pure secularist! They chase out Corpus Christi processions and the Iberian Madonna, and, pop—out comes a May Day parade and Lenin's tomb. The Puritan professor would not think of putting his foot inside an "idolatrous" Romish church, but he solemnly and without a chuckle watches his graduates in medieval robes and a silly looking mortarboard move to the stage of the auditorium, like so many flamingos slowly stalking through a swamp.

I deliberately created the above confusion—it is an image of what is happening in the circles of those who select their facts to form a pattern, obviously an *a priori* conception. Nobody who reads this book will be able to say that there is a conclusive proof for any of the grandiose conceptions: they are all skyscrapers resting on bamboo sticks on the edge of a murky jungle.

★

THE proof goes about like this: any legend, fairy tale, myth, and all religious documents of any kind are the visible condensations of subconscious vapors arising in men. Though they may stem from an individual, generations that hand them on embellish, enrich, re-shape or distort them. These condensed clouds may be pink, yellow, blue, green, i.e., Indian myths, lives of Buddha, Jesus or Mohammed "legomena" in the cruel puberty rites of Australian bushmen, or fantasies of a Christian mystic on the Song of Songs, sultry sculptures on an Indian pagoda or the legend of the unicorn on a French tapestry—they all have the same origin and, though of different color or intensity, the same chemical composition and the same shape. There always is the departure of the hero, impersonating a collective, an initiation via a road of trials and a return—the pattern of the ancient mysteries of the Near East and of the waning antiquity of Hellas and Rome.

Like all gnoseis, this one has "found" the key to all mysteries, though differently from the ancient gnostics. They knew nothing about the subconscious and its psychoanalytic symbolisms. They started from words and ideas. The Eranos circle of Bollingen, with its fifteen ponderous annuals and its American outpost in the "Bollingen Series," shares with gnosticism the eclectic hybris, the vertiginous dancing from frail premises to weighty conclusions, the neatness of a "system" into which all fits.

This book is full of inconclusive tales, vague and shadowy parallels pressed into service, as if they were solid proofs, and also complete misunderstandings assembled from an alphabetic register in the back of books eagerly looted by a man obsessed with a faith. Of course, after you declare that reality of facts is nothing, and that their interpretation is all, you are no longer surprised to read that the legend of Psyche and Eros, who were forever united when Zeus gave the drink of immortality, is the *same mystery* which the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches celebrate in the Assumption (the text quoted in the book, by the way, is not in the Missal, but in the Antiphonarium).

This does not mean that the author, who is to be scolded severely for his irresponsible quoting, does not provide deep insights in spite of himself. For who is not reminded of the Sophiology of modern Russian the-

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ology, and similar tropical growths of a few of our own speculating mariologists, when Campbell describes the goddess Manidvipa according to the mystical Tautra collection of India: "The goddess is red with the fire of life . . .; the earth, the solar system . . . all swell within her womb. For she is the world creatrix, ever mother, ever virgin. She encompasses the encompassing, nourishes the nourishing, and is the life of everything that lives."

What Heinrich Zimmer in his rage against Allah and the Trinity offered in the dance of Shiva, now presents itself in its female form, beyond good and evil. This Manidvipa-Sophia-Virgin-mother is "womb and tomb" —a flash which completely blinds the author and leads him to a mad dance of words as empty of meanings as his stories are hollow of reality. He describes the iconography of this goddess: inebriated with the sound of words he states that this goddess who kills and gives life is cruel and benign, personifies cosmic power—is therefore blind fate, an ogre, was "the totality of the universe, the *harmonization* (all Italics mine) of all the pairs of opposites, combining *wonderfully* the terror of absolute destruction with an *impersonal* yet *motherly reassurance.*" When mystics speak of "dark light," even a non-mystic like myself has an idea, a very faint one, that they are approaching inexpressible experience. But that is in the realm of experience and mystics are conscious of the inadequacy of language. And we, adepts of the *analogia entis,* know that the paradoxes they use are rational stuttering about factual truths—what the catechism calls intellectual "mysteries." But how can anybody "realize" a harmonization of all the pairs of logical opposites like destruction and reassurance, motherly and impersonal? Such verbiage removes the book from rational claims.

Like all gnostics this one, too, pays tribute to a manichean hatred of the flesh: the organic cell, says Mr. Campbell on p. 121, is "pushing, self-protective, malodorous, carnivorous, lecherous" by its very nature—at which juncture Hamlet, I, II, 129 ff, comes in to clinch the argument.

If we remember what the author registers under myth —Red Riding Hood as well as the Gospels—the introductory passage (p. 3) really contains in a masterly statement the whole book: "Myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies [sic!] of the cosmos grow into human cultural manifestations." In his next sentence he even extends this "boiling up from the basic magic ring of myth" to philosophies, arts, social forms of primitive and historic man, prime discoveries in science and technology.

★

IF THIS reviewer sounds less dispassionate and objective than usual, there are many reasons. The first is that we have here the work of a well-read, diligent adept of the "Eranos," or Bollingen, circle offering a glittering and, to say it crudely, simultaneously sophomoric example of what one can do with facts. The synthetic rage, inherited from Freud and perhaps Spengler, picks up any kind of verbal, pictorial or associative assonance to get it into a picture. The acid of psychoanalysis

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has melted into one boiling, slimy broth all the solids: the absolutes, the facts, the legends, the myths and fairy tales. The boiling cauldron is a terrible sight. The almighty Spirit is one of its components as well as the pyxies and nightmares. Spread this over our confused college youth and you have done better than inane predecessors, the agnostics, the materialists: you have conjured up a terrible night of the mind.

We may easily underestimate this novel danger. It is not a new one in France, where apparently, as in the past, all the latest fashions reach their first bloom. René Guénon and other minor lights have been recognized by alert men like J. Daniélou, S.J., as the great threat they are (*Etudes,* December, 1948, p. 289 ff); however this invasion of "Hindouisme," like its German predecessor, Count Keyserling's school of wisdom, is an appeal to rationalization and in the name of a superior "truth," not of surging, subconscious myth, which appeals to minds tired of "partial dogmatisms." In Abbé Monchanin, who now lives as a "sadu" in Southern India, there is even an orthodox link which tries to redeem the "logos spermaticos," the scattered seeds of the one truth, and to channel the wisdom of India into theology, as once Plato and Aristotle were used to irrigate the soil of Christian speculation. A more catholic Catholicism, true to its own great tradition, is the aim of these orthodox explorers of the Eastern mind. Father Daniélou shows the world-enclosed, intra-natural Yogi (Eros) to be different from the transcendent, supra-natural Christian saint (Agape).

But what a difference between these men, including Guénon, and Campbell's dive into the subconscious, coming up with only the message that down there all is a dark swirl of murky water.

# Books

*Nineteen Eighty-four. George Orwell. Harcourt.* $3.00.

THE 1984 with which George Orwell threatens us is a far cry from the ultra-technological tomorrow that so many novelists have envisaged. Even the atom bomb has been decided to be too dangerous a whip. The sole advances science has been allowed are adjuncts to thought control: notably the telescreen which in every room of every Party member's office or home constantly watches and listens, even while it broadcasts such importances as the daily Two Minutes Hate; and the Newspeak language which systematically reduces vocabulary and syntax toward a point where wrong-thinking cannot exist because it cannot be formulated.

Meanwhile, the standard of living of all but Inner Party members is kept at a level which is a not too exaggerated picture of present-day conditions in Mr. Orwell's native England. Lower-level Party functionaries are badly fed, overworked, poorly housed, forever scrounging for such luxuries as razor blades, forever in fear of betraying a slight want of enthusiasm to the telescreen. The bulk of the population—the "proles"—are lulled into apathy by squalor, official pornography, and state lotteries.

While the scene is London, England is no longer a nation but rather Airstrip One, a component of one of the three equal powers into which the world has divided itself. These three powers, in constantly shifting combinations, are perpetually at war. The wars are never, and are never expected to be, decisive. Their object is to consume productive energy which might otherwise raise the standard of living to a point where other matters than survival could become important.

Does this seem preposterous? Mr. Orwell (aided by recent history) makes it hauntingly believable. While his future borrows elements from Stalinism, English socialism, Japanese thought control, fascism and authoritarianism wheresoever, he is not attacking any of these specifically. He is warning us of a worldwide trend. His Inner Party has arrived at the understanding that power is not a means but an end. No longer (except, of course, in public statements) is there any cant about bettering the lot of the masses, etc., etc.; the issue is to maintain the controlling hierarchy. This hierarchy is composed not of bugaboo capitalists but of managers—managers of government, of industry, of labor, of thought, and, most frightening of all, of memory: the occupation of the protagonist is to assist in destroying memory by "correcting" all written records. The basic attack is upon the will; one must not merely comply, one must also consent.

Brilliantly as he depicts and dramatizes the assault upon the individual will, Mr. Orwell is less successful when he tackles emotional relationships. The love affair which furnishes the fictional fillip of the book is shallow and unconvincing; one has the feeling that it bored the author as much as it does oneself. Mr. Orwell is very thoroughly an intellectual. He has, however, in "1984," proved his ability to communicate his ideas in a manner calculated to rob many hours of sleep from every thinking reader.

DAVID BURNHAM.

*Complete Poems of Robert Frost,* 1949. *Holt.* $6.00.

SINCE Robert Frost has reached some stature and maturity in contemporary American literature, the latest collection of his poetry affords a range of craftsmanship and thought solid enough and complete enough for some tentative re-estimations, not only of Frost himself, but of the American mentality—both popular and academic—which has acclaimed him as a poet of talent and as a man of original educative wisdom.

From the sharp and simple imagery of Frost's best lyrics, to the flippant crowing in "New Hampshire," "Build Soil," and *A Masque of Reason,* is a distance that cannot be accounted for by a perversion of talent: for the poet's bucolic canniness, his contempt for the "intellectual," and his hard appraisal of systematized knowledge and values, often intersects with the cleanest lyrical vision. Frost's geographic regionalism—almost all of his poetry has originated in New England—is matched by a psychological and spiritual regionalism of a pernicious sort. "The fact is the sweetest dream that labor knows" is a sentiment that Americans have popularly recognized as their own, just as they have recognized, and responded to, all sentiments of presentism and practicality from Franklin onward. But the insistence on the fact and on the rough realities of New England farming life, in Frost's poetry, combines curiously with a disavowal

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of the responsibilities of a common intellectual and social heritage; both combine, still more curiously, with a romantic and often sentimental mystique, a coagulate of stars, snow and birch-trees. From all of this is derived a vague but strongly individualistic moral theology, by turns shrewdly practical and whimsically impractical.

Frost's achievement in clean lyrical poetry is considerable; but if his songs are pressed (as all songs should be pressed) they often reveal a disturbing indetermination and shallowness.

J. H. JOHNSTON.

*The Spell of the Pacific. An Anthology of its Literature. Selected and edited by Carl Stroven and A. Grove Day. Macmillan.* $6.50.

CURLING combers on long white beaches; lazy lagoons reflecting the palm fronds; heat heavy in fragrance; delicately tinted Polynesians garlanded in flaming flowers; frizzled-hair cannibals of the Stone Age; and on the blue and violet sea, outrigger canoes and dinghy freighters, the ghosts of Spanish galleons and British frigates and whalers from New England. All the imaginings and stark realities of five centuries can be relived in these 900 pages.

The collection is divided into eight geographical sections which affirm the close relationship between literature and environment. The grace of life among the Sandwich Islanders which so impressed Captain Cook is reflected in all the Hawaiian sketches, but the laughs become cynical in the Philippines, brutal in Australia and fade away in New Zealand.

The stories inspired by Polynesia are nurtured on satire and not too gently. Here is the most famous roster: Pierre Loti, Gauguin, Somerset Maugham, Jack London, Lloyd Osborne, Rupert Brooke, James Norman Hall and Charles Nordhof. Wisely it includes Henry Adams' description of a Samoan soiree and his meeting with Robert Louis Stevenson as well as an excerpt from Herman Melville's first book, *Typee,* and his terrestrial adventures in a cannibal Eden. Life in the Marquesas he describes as "little else than an often interrupted luxurious nap from which one woke to bathe, to sh, to dance or dine off the fruits provided by nature."

Far more niggardly are nature's gifts to Melanesia where hunger is always a haunting presence. C. A. Monckton is, of course, the spokesman for Papua, but "An Expedition against the Dobadura Tribe" from *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate* seems simply to stress the sanguinary, whereas Monckton's very entertaining accounts of the loyalty of his native constabulary would have paid a tribute to Melanesian integrity—which was earned during the last war.

Missionaries enter the scene in Polynesia with the London Missionary Society's first voyage to the Marquesas in 1796; a visit to one of their Christian settlements in the Cook Islands in 1830; and a most engaging description of three old ladies from Boston and the sinless Methodist paradise they had created in Kusaia in the Carolines (Micronesia). The only Catholic Mission mentioned is Molokai. It is Charles Warren Stoddard's description of the work of Father Damien.

The section called *The Sea* covers such classics as William Bligh's *Narrative of the Mutiny on Board His Majesty's Ship Bounty;* the chapter, "Pitcairn's Island,"


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# Next Week

**RADIO EDITORIALIZING,** by Edward J. Heffron, explains the new Federal Communications Commission ruling that broadcasters may editorialize if they accord equal opportunity to opposing views.

**MR. GOODWIN AND THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE,** by John Cogley, is a true account of an American tourist couple on a bus trip to a famous monastery in the French Alps.

**CARDINAL SUHARD,** by Claire Huchet Bishop, explains why the late Cardinal Archbishop of Paris was so beloved by the poor.

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from Sir John Barrow's narrative: "Town Ho," from *Moby Dick* and Mark Twain's report of "The Burning of the Clipper Ship Hornet" to the Sacramento *Weekly Union* in 1866. The sufferings of the Captain and fourteen men for forty-three days in an open longboat reads cruelly like World War II. The story was a "scoop" and though it gave no opportunity for humor, young Clemens showed his understanding of humanity in his characterization of the Captain, whose unselfish devotion and courage, had alone saved the remnant of his crew.

Horror is the keynote of such stories as Katherine Mansfield's "The Woman at the Store" (New Zealand); "Out There," by E. L. G. Watson, of the Englishman who went native in Australia; "The Fourth Man," by John Russell (Melanesia) and James Norman Hall's "The Forgotten One," about the man who insisted on solitude on a deserted island. This last seems the most subtle. "Red," by Maugham, is a derisive sneer at romance; Conrad, with his Malayan boundaries, is only represented by a short sketch of a chief in the Philippines. Henry Handel Richardson paints a hideously sordid picture of the devastation of men and nature in an Australian gold rush while Jack London blows you into the middle of a hurricane in the Paumotus in "The House of Mapuhi."

The editors, members of the faculty of the University of Hawaii, have accomplished a huge task with acumen and enthusiasm and offer 105 selections with a note about each author from Magellan down to the present day. Although none of Michener's stories are included—does that mean another anthology of the Pacific in the World War?—his introduction holds its own in the collection in which none of the tales are as raw as Michener's or as terse in power.

> "This mysterious divine Pacific zones the world's whole bulk about; makes all coasts one bay to it; seems the tide-beating heart of earth."

So said Melville. One emerges from the anthology imbued with mystery, beauty and indefinable terror.

E. V. R. WYATT.

*William Gaston, Carolinian. J. Herman Schauinger. Bruce. $3.25.*

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